# PEACE NEWS FORMOSA Background to a trouble spot

Brotherhood: Non-Violence: Freedom

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Conscription in the H-bomb age

HYDROGEN bombs can destroy every building and person over a circle of ten miles radius, and can spread fire and radia-

tion far beyond that area. Towards the end

of the last war there were many 1,000 bomber raids. We have no means whatever of preventing at least some enemy bombers from getting through, and if 50 got through they could destroy every town of any size in Great Britain and kill millions of people.

Of what use would our conscript armies be to us then? They could not even bury the

bodies, for these and the whole area in which they lay, would be radioactive.

No, we have to think out new, more Christian and therefore more effective ways of oppos-

ing tyranny and aggression, if we do not wish to be caught up in a general mad rush to world suicide and the destruction of all our ideals. And our first step should be,

not to train young men for war, but to train them to think of war as madness, as

The above is an extract from Professor Kath-

a horrible relic of the pre-atomic age.

# NEUTRALITY AND FREEDOM

# Asia's way to peace

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

TNDO-CHINA and Malaya should join with the other neutral nations of Asia to form a "zone of peace," said two leading liberation workers in London this week, at a meeting of the South-

Mr. Ho Huu-Tuong, leader of the Vietnam democratic Socialist group said Communism would not have spread in Indo-China had it not been for the attitude of the French and later of the Americans.

When Ho Chi Minh came to power in north Vietnam there were only 2,500 members of the Communist Party there; now 700,000 members of that Party are responsible for organising the lives of some eight million

In the south about 300,000 were Communist and there were approximately three million sympathisers. But this was simply because there had been no other effective national liberation party. If things remained as they were then by 1956, when Vietnam is due to have an election to decide its future form of government, Communism would sweep the

If there could arise a new force in Asia, equally opposed to colonialism, yet based on democracy and peace, the people would flock to it.

#### New social policy needed

Such a force, Ho Huu-Tuong believed, was represented by the Third Camp. To win the active support of the people, new social reforms would have to be a part of the policy of peace and freedom from totalitarianism.

"The solution," he concluded, "is for Indo-China to constitute a zone of peace, or neutral area, and so prevent the spreading of both Communist and Western influence. Then the economic, social and political difficulties of South Vietnam might be met, and 1956 would see a reunified Vietnam under a democratic socialist regime.

"It is only by a policy of neutrality that the people of Vietnam can realise true independence. But the struggle there is of international importance. Vietnam can be the master-key in opening the way to the formation of a Third Camp in the world."

Mr. Lee Moke Sang, Chairman of the Pan-Malayan Labour Party said that he had not come to Britain to plead the cause of Malaya's independence—such a cause needed no pleading, the right to self-government for colonial peoples was recognised, it was only a question of time before Malaya became free.

Mr. Lee referred to the success of Burma in eliminating her own Communist problem without assistance from the West, as an example of how a free Malaya would deal with the same issue.

"The danger of Communism is something which is being played up by the newspapers," he said. "Most of the Malayan people have no time for it, but in any case Communism is not something which can be overcome by force.

#### Free nations and Communism

"The Burmese on receiving self-government showed dynamic enthusiasm for the maintenance of democratic institutions, and the refusal of

A free Malaya would do the same."

While foreign policy issues were not at this stage a major concern of the Malayan parties, Mr. Lee said that it could be taken for granted that the influence of his party would be for association with India and

her sister-nations in their policy of peace and neutrality.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, said that the two Asian leaders could take encouragement from the growth of public activity for colonial freedom ("when Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the new Colonial Secretary, returns to the House of Commons he will find at least 100 questions on the Colonies down for him") and the recent

reforms in French colonial policy.

This work would be furthered by the expansion of the Movement for Colonial Freedom which hoped soon to have a section in France, and the development on a world scale of the movement for a Third Camp.
"This thing is going to grow," said Mr. Brockway. "Let us hope it will be in time to help our friends in Vietnam in 1956."

# LEADERS CALL FOR EUROPEAN SUPPORT

East Asia Committee of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

But it was possible that things would not remain as they are. Considerable dissatisfaction with the rule of Ho Chi Minh was already being shown and even his own Communists were strongly opposed to the

influence which Communist China was exerting over Vietnam.

he above is an extract from Professor Kath-leen Lonsdale's contribution to "Conscrip-tion in the H-bomb Age," a new pamphlet published by the No Conscription Council (Crestfield Street, W.C.1, 6d.). Other con-tributors to the pamphlet are George Thomas, MP; Rev. A. D. Belden, DD; A. Fenner Brockway, MP; and L. J. Cuming. 

## **NATIONAL 'KENYA WEEK'**

Campaign to end fighting

SIXTY MPs and many other people prominent in the national life are in support of a campaign for ending the fighting in Kenya which will be begun during the week Sunday, October 10, to Sunday, October 17, to be known as 'Kenya Week."

In the campaign, which is being organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, four points for inaugurating a new approach to the Kenya problem will be put forward. They

- The Government should appoint intermediaries (one an African) who have the confidence of the African com-
- The intermediaries should contact Mau Mau leaders in a way similar to that adopted in the case of the "General China" negotiations.
- 3. The intermediaries should propose an immediate end to the fighting on both sides and negotiate an amnesty, and the liberation of prisoners and detainees.
- 4. A Round Table Conference should be A Round Table Conference should be called immediately following the amnesty, representing Africans, Asians and Europeans on a basis of parity, and including representation of the Arab community. The African representatives should be persons who have the confidence of the African community. This dence of the African community. This conference should prepare a political, social, educational and economic programme, with a time-table for its implementation, which the Government will undertake to put into operation.

# a discredited way to peace

-Unations

BY STUART MORRIS

SO SEATO has been born and a system of so-called collective security has been extended to SE Asia.

The needs of Asia are best shown in these two photographs:

freedom from war and freedom from want. In the top picture

Philippine amputees, probably all war victims, learn to use their

artificial limbs in the garden of their hospital. Last week the

South East Asia Defence Agreement, described by Mr. Nehru as

"most unfortunate," was signed in the capital of their country.

In the lower picture can be seen one of the slum homes in which

more than 300,000 Hong Kong citizens live-and die. The

United Nations children's organisation, UNICEF, helps to relieve

the worst suffering, but the need is enormous. Millions of

pounds now being spent on military preparations require

to be spent at once in Asia's war on want. The real defence of

peace and democracy demands it.

Why statesmen worthy of the name should feel it worth while or desirable to continue to use a pattern which has already proved to be ineffective in providing security and more likely to endanger world peace, can probably only be found in the obsession they have through their fear of Communism.

#### Separate pledges

Though Mr. Dulles may profess to be satisfied with the results of Manila, the agreement does not accord with his wishes in certain important points.

Its provisions do not involve the same automatic and specific commitments as does NATO. The member states pledge themselves separately and jointly to review their capacity to resist attack and prevent external aggression. The crucial article is No. 4, the first section of which lays down that each party recognises that aggression by means of armed attack on any of the signatories or any state or territory which they by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and security and demand appropriate action.

Consultation is provided for in the case of a non-military threat to the integrity of a member state or a designated territory, with the proviso that in the latter case no action can be taken except on the invitation of or

designated state.

Any area can become involved without primary reference to its government for it is possible for any member to ask that any other area be included as a designated area, and in a protocol Laos, Cambodia and the State Vietnam are already designated.

The Treaty area is defined as the general area of SE Asia, including the entire territories of the signatories and the general area of the SW Pacific but excluding the area north of latitude 21 north 30.

This means in practice that while Malaya, British North Borneo are included, Formosa and Hong Kong are not, at any rate for the time being.

#### "Understanding of America"

Any reference to Communism is excluded except in a clause added to the treaty to embody the "understanding of America,"

"the delegation of the USA in signing the Treaty does so with the understanding that its recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and its agreement with reference thereto apply only to Communist aggression . .

and they thus make plain against whom in their mind the treaty is aimed.

The reception of the Treaty in other countries has been cautious except in the case of

with the consent of the government of the designated state.

Any area can become involved without of India which maintains its opposition to the

#### India's view of the Treaty

India feels that SEATO threatens the peace of Asia and its own security

The situation in Asia is so fluid and the treaty so carefully drawn that we doubt whether it alters the situation much, or if the signatories will ever be called upon to honour their commitments, but it is the latest expression of a policy which if allowed to run its full course means world war.

Though not so dangerous as it might have been if Mr. Dulles had his way, the Treaty embodies a view of collective security which is false and dangerous. It is based upon a fear of Communism and an assumption of Communist aggression.

It largely ignores the existence of a revolutionary situation in SE Asia and elsewhere, which creates a determination to overthrow the status quo. It makes no attempt to understand or to deal with the causes of unrest and the incentive which these provide to action which vested interests may regard as subver-sive or aggressive. It enshrines the belief that aggression can be deterred by threats and that Communism can be limited by a show of violence.

ON BACK PAGE

## Coventry councillors off to Stalingrad

A DEPUTATION from Coventry City Council is to visit Russia shortly for the purpose of meeting the Stalingrad City Soviet to discuss a joint approach to the United Nations to bring about the banning of atomic weapons. The meeting is at the request of the Stalingrad Soviet.

After the famous decision of Coventry City Council to disband its Civil Defence Committee as a demonstration for peace, the Council wrote to the Stalingrad Soviet urging it to do the same. Coventry has special associations with Stalingrad, made during the war.

The deputation will consist of about six councillors including the Mayor of Coventry.

News of Stalingrad's invitation was broadcast on Moscow Radio.

The City of Dresden, most heavily bombed German city of the war, also expressed its interest in the example set by Coventry.

#### PEOPLE . . .

Lord Boyd Orr, President of the National Peace Council, Dame Sybil Thorndike and Christopher Fry are among 675 leading British men and women "concerned with the arts and sciences," who sent a message of goodwill to their counterparts in China.

Michael Scott was due to leave England for the United Nations on Thursday where he is to speak on behalf of the people of South-West Africa.

# PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4 Tel: STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines) 

### THE WORLD'S FOOD

THE Congress on World Population that met at the beginning of the month in Rome draws attention once more to the vital question of the inadequacy of food supplies to the world's population.

At present two-thirds of the people in the world do not obtain sufficient food to keep their bodies in health according to the standards obtaining in Britain and North America, and there are some 60 to 70 thousand new mouths to feed added each day.

A recent issue of Planning, the Political and Economic Planning publication has also been surveying the subject of world population. It is estimated that in 26 years time, in 1980, the world population is likely to be 3,990 millions. In 1950 it was 2454 millions.

These figures are taken from the PEP pamphlet, but they agree substantially with those that were brought into the surveys at Rome, although at the Conference there was naturally a wider range of estimates presented.

In India it is estimated that in 1981 the population will be on the scale of 521 millions as compared with the 1951 figure of 361 millions. It is calculated that Japan is likely to reach 100 millions at some point between 1961 and 1970. Between 1945 and 1951 it increased from 72 millions to 83 millions, but the latter figure includes some five million repatriates from Japan's former colonial territories.



The pamphlet discusses methods by which this situation should be faced. Pride of place is given to birth control. There was division of opinion on this issue at Rome, where there was an interesting alliance of Catholics and Communists in decrying the need for the fostering of birth control methods.

We feel that, setting aside the at present relatively academic question of whether it is possible to expand indefinitely the food-growing capacity of the earth to feed an expanding population, there is obviously developing an increasingly urgent need that the religious, medical and aesthetic objections to birth control should not be regarded as absolutes, but should be considered in relation to the problem of population and resources.

There is, however, a great need for devoting much more serious attention to the problem of food production. Here there should be considered the formidable and, as it seems to us unanswerable, case that is made today for a largely vegetable diet as a means of dealing with the world shortage

Mr. Peter Freeman, MP outlined this some months ago in our columns, and the case he urges, which has also been forcefully expounded by Mr. Roy Walker, calls for more serious consideration than it has hitherto been given.



The comments made by the City Editor of the News Chronicle on an address given by Professor Austin Robinson to the British Association, printed on page three, point to another important aspect where economic thinking can lack reality because it refuses to contemplate the most formidable economic problem that confronts the world.

Let us remark in passing that the general contention of the News Chronicle City Editor in seeking to rebut the argument of Professor Robinson appears to us to be a very superficial attempt to evade the problem that Professor Austin is posing. It is not this aspect that concerns us here however.

What seems to us to be not only bad economic thinking, but an appalling piece of moral obtuseness, is the assumption that the way out of Britain's economic difficulties is to create new needs among the peoples of the under-developed countries that will demand our industrial expansion. They are to be induced to want motor-cycles, motor-cars, radio sets and TV sets.

These people have basic needs that there is no necessity to create, because they feel them already. They need better shelter: they need elementary education; and pre-eminently they need



When we speak of the aid that is to be given to the underdeveloped countries we do much better to think in terms of increasing food production than of turning them into industrialised communities with aspirations for television sets and the multitudes of unnecessary things that the West has been conditioning itself to find necessary in the last few decades.

If we honestly face the fact that hungry people need food before they need TV sets we will find that thinking in such terms has considerable consequences for our own economy as well as

#### Trigger happy

THE situation around Formosa is sufficiently dangerous to warrant the calling by President Eisenhower of the National Security Council, the highest policy-making body in the USA. It is also a threat to the peace of the world sufficient to demand immediate con-sideration by the United Nations.

The daily attacks on the mainland port of Amoy by the nationalist forces based on Formosa last week culminated in the use of Napalm bombs and there can be no doubt as to the source of Chiang Kai-shek's supplies of bombers and bombs. The continued presence of the chief of the American military mission in Formosa indicates US approval of what is happening.

It is surprising that the Peking Government has so far taken so little notice of the provocation. There is, however, every indication that they were not bluffing when they announced their intention of liberating Formosa, and an attack on the neighbouring island of Quemoy may be their first objective.

Peking's threat to take action in Korea when they believed that their security was threatened by action on and beyond the Yalu river was not taken seriously at the time.

The more Peking believes that its security is threatened by the action of the nationalists on Formosa and the encouragement given to them by America, the more likelihood of their taking action when they are ready and the weather is favourable.

#### American dilemma

A MERICA is not committed to the defence of Quemoy or to defend Formosa except against invasion. What their reaction to an attack on Quemoy or to the persistent bombing of Formosa would be remains in some doubt, because more than a military dilemma confronts them.

The Pentagon may not want to be involved in a battle for Quemoy or an out and out air attack on China with all the danger of a third world war, but the Administration may be wondering whether it can afford a further loss of prestige in the Far East by standing on one side.

That is always the danger and difficulty of embarking on a policy with-out a due appreciation of where it may

It is all the more urgent to use what may be a brief breathing space in the attempt to solve the problem. We, therefore, repeat our view that one possible solution lies along the lines of the immediate calling of the United Nations to give to Peking its rightful status there as the government of China, to be followed by the discussion of the situation in Formosa, on the basis of the sugges-tion that it should be neutralised and that its inhabitants should be given the opportunity of deciding whether they want to be incorporated into China or whether they would prefer some form of independence which would not constitute any threat to Peking, under the trusteeship of UN.

#### Formosa's future

TORMOSA is the latest in the long line of twentieth-century offspring to which divorced and hostile parents have both laid claim—Germany, Korea, Vietnam, Papua, the Negeb, Trans-Vietnam, Papua, the Negeb, Trans-jordan, the Sudan, British Honduras, the High Commission Territories of South Africa, Goa, Trieste, Kashmirthe list is endless, and so are the argu-

Nearly all of them proceed from the attempts to establish the "rightful" ownership of the piece of territory in question. Law, history, culture, common-sense and the practical state of affairs are appealed to

in no instance does the wishes of the inhabitants of the disputed territories figure in the arguments. Each side makes out that they "naturally" favour it.

our it.

# BEHIND THE NEWS

some sort of permanent United Nations "disputed territories" commission which would evolve techniques for making it possible for the inhabitants to express their wishes under conditions as democratic as education and habit will allow, and under circumstances of complete freedom from intimidation or seduction.

In the case of Formosa, it would not be at all surprising if under such circumstances the seven million Formosans opted to become independent of either Mao or Chiang. Alternatively they might elect to join Mao or to call back Chiang. No amount of historical evidence for or against the closer association of the mainland government and the island can obscure the demogratic rightness of this course. cratic rightness of this course.

How Formosa would arrange to conduct her political and economic affairs, vhat relationships with China or anybody else she would subsequently take up, would be her own affair. To decide advance that her future lies either with the Chiang—American bloc or with the Mao—Russian bloc is not merely to deny her people the same elementary right by which we stand in regard to the people of Basutoland in spite of Dr. Malan's demands; it is also to defer to the power-political nature of the situation and to take away from Peter to pay Paul.

#### Third Camp required

With the problems of Germany, Korea, Formosa and Indo-China still unsolved, the importance of the Third Camp Movement of Liberation increases daily. The tragedy of the world situation, and its danger, lies in the fact that it has to be presented in terms of the division between East and West and of the insistence that governments and people must adhere to one side or the other. What a difference it would make if there could be a recognised grouping to which any who do not want to belong to either bloc could adhere with the opportunity to work out their own way of life in peace.

#### T.U.C. and German arms

THE Trades Union Congress, acting 'a party within a party," has declared in favour of German rearma-ment—in advance of the Labour Party Conference which meets on September

As, however, the majority was a very narrow one (4,077,000 to 3,622,000) there is considerable likelihood that the Labour Party Conference will decide in

different sense. Trade union representation at the Labour Party Conference is not on the same affiliation basis as at the TUC and the Unions which opposed the Brighton resolution are likely to be represented on a proportionately higher basis at Scarborough than those that voted in favour. In addition local labour parties are likely to provide more votes against

than in favour. There have been special difficulties, of course, in ascertaining rank and file views on German rearmament because of the changing situation. For instance, the National Union of Mineworkers at its Conference in July decided to support a policy of German rearmament within EDC. When the Congress met, however, EDC was dead. Were the miners' delegates to your for the miners' delegates to vote for the General Council's resolution in the new miners'

where the Conferences of the people they represented had declared themselves. In many cases, however, the union conferences had not been consulted. Indeed, on most issues of policy there is normally no consultation of the conferences of the unions; it is not on many issues that the unions' national executives are consulted. The decisions taken in the votes at Trades Union Congresses and Labour Party Con-ferences, generally speaking, simply register the views of the caucus of trade union leaders.

#### Russia and the Atom

WE publish on page five a letter from Mr. Pat Sloan arising out of our comment on the disappointing reaction of the Russian Government to President Eisenhower's proposal for international co-operation in the use of atomic power for industrial, agricultural and medical purposes.

We were aware of the statement made on December 21 referred to by Mr. Sloan. If we did not regard it as having the finality that he attributes to it, it is because we did not imagine that it was as disingenuous as he appears to think it was.

That the Russian Government's repeated call for an international agreement to ban the use and manufacture of atom and hydrogen bombs would be reiterated in response to the Eisenhower proposal was to be expected. It was so reiterated, and as also was to be expected its rejection was intimated by the US Government.

That, however, was no reason why the possibilities of the Eisenhower proposal should not have been explored. The Eisenhower proposal was not necessarily any more an "attempt to sidetrack" the issue of banning A- and H-bombs than the raising of the banning issue in response to the proposal for co-operation in peace-time uses of nuclear energy was attempt to evade the consideration of this latter subject.

We expressed our regret in this matter because we had hoped that the Malenkov Government, which in numerous ways in its approach to inter-national relationships has given more reason for hope than did the Stalin Government, might have used the Eisenhower proposal as one means among others to the relaxation of international tension.

While we are commenting on this subject it may be noted that the resolution quoted by Mr. Sloan does not mean quite what it seems to be saying. It

"Guided by the desire to reduce international tension the states taking part in the agreement assume the solemn and unconditional pledge not to use atomic, hydrogen or any other weapons of mass destruction."

Now it is quite obvious that if the Russian Government were ready to assume an unconditional pledge regarding atomic and hydrogen weapons it would cease making them. The word "unconditional" has really no legitimate place in the formula, for the pledge is not to be unconditional, but is to be conditional upon the actions of other governments.

We believe that the chances of survival of civilisation depend upon the readiness of governments to give and act upon such an unconditional pledge.

We shall continue to advocate that the British Government should give such an unconditional pledge and should implement it by ceasing to make atomic bombs, destroying its stockpile and resolving that no air-bases in Britain should ever be used for their launching.

If the Russian Government were to adopt such an "unconditional pledge" on its side it could be a turning point in history that might save the world. Even if some friends of Soviet Russia, inside and outside that land were to Every delegation must have been advocate such a course it could have a It seems that the situation calls for confronted with a similar dilemma powerful moral influence.

#### Third Camp trends

HAVING written for three successive weeks about the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches, I turn now to an entirely different theme, though there may well be occasion to return to Evanston at a later date when we get some indication as to how its recommendations and counsels are going to find expression in the life of the

To my delight-and of some of you over there who may also have seen it—Time magazine carried a fine picture of U Nu, the Premier of Burma, on the front cover of its August 30 edition.

Little attention has been paid to Burma, its Socialist Party and the government which it heads, in comparison with India, for example, Nehru, Vinoba Bhave and the Indian Praja Socialist Party, and this sizable disproportion is not a correct reflection of the comparative importance of the two sets of developments in South-east Asia.

It is presumably chiefly due to the fact that in Burma the Socialist Party is actually in power that the Asian Socialist Congress has its headquarters in Rangoon. But this fact is also to some extent probably a reflection of

programme of land reform, intant industrialization and social welfare . . . with no sizable the Socialist Party. help from the West."

That there should be nations which are ready to assert economic, political and spiritual independence of both the US and the Communist bloc and willing to accept the burdens and sacrifices this may entail is essential if a politically effective Third Camp is to develop in the present period. (This does of course, not mean isolationism and placing limits on the free exchange of ideas, goods and peoples.) And the Burmese government is setting an impressive example of such independence.

It is not accidental that it should be such government which resolutely turned down US aid when this seemed to involve entanglement in the American power bloc, which—to quote Time once more—"has just about defeated its Communist insurrection—with no sizable help from the West!" I wish it were possible to say that the means used by U Nu and his colleagues have been altogether nonviolent but that is not the case.

But the emphasis in dealing with the Com-

the ideological and spiritual leadership represented in U Nu's party.

The Time article calls attention to one factor which is important for all concerned but radical land measures under which

about the development of a Third Camp when it observes: "Burma is launching an ambitious 40 acres of land. As a result several thousand Communists have left their Party and joined

> The other characteristic of U Nu and Burmese Socialism on which I touch is the strong link they have with Buddhism and the effort to integrate Socialism and Buddhism. The Burmese Socialists are evidently convinced that there must be both "inner revolution" and "outer revolution," and this, too, seems to me begin for Third Company to the property of the property o seems to me basic for Third Camp thinking.

> This last observation leads me to call atten-Inis last observation leads me to call attention briefly to one of our leading American intellectuals and novelists, Waldo Frank and a recent utterance of his. Peace News readers will recall the letter to The New York Times written by Lewis Mumford last spring, the repercussions of which I find are still being felt after several months. felt after several months.

> On my return I found that The Nation (New York) in the issue which appeared on the stands just after I left for London last June, published a major article by Waldo Frank which is to a large degree a Third Camp manifesto, or at least an analysis laying the ground work for one. I have space and time now to mention only a couple of solions points in this article. salient points in this article.

Waldo Frank begins by pointing out that the current American anti-Communism is, if anything, a greater danger to American society Camp.

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste and culture than Communism but then goes

on to state a basic fact which I have also sought at times to expound, viz: that Communism can be understood only in relation to its foe, capitalism.

These two, he declares, "are related and rival products of decadent trends in Western culture. The mechanisation of man, the regimentation of groups, the wholesale depersonalisation of the human being as an economic (finally military) unit are symptoms of Com-munism and capitalism alike, because they are implicit in the values from which both cultures . . . have sprung.'

He then goes on to say—and here is where He then goes on to say—and here is where I was reminded of the Burmese efforts to integrate Buddhism and Socialism—that the malady is ultimately a spiritual one. Communists and anti-Communist intellectuals alike live "by materialist and pragmatic values." Therefore man is herded, his head softened, his imagination depleted "until his consciousness becomes a stereotype with the consciousness becomes a stereotype, with the universal experience of the mystic, the saint, the artist excluded."

Waldo Frank ends his article by calling on youth to repudiate mechanistic, materialist and pragmatic philosophies, not in an escape from political action and responsibility, but as a means of developing a method of poli-tical action which is essentially non-violent and a programme which is basically Third



Pictured here are Doris Wheeler (left) and Valerie Crofts, both of London, at the entrance to the Meeting House where the recent Peace Exhibition was held. Scores of people visited the exhibition after the rally in Trafalgar Square. Many stayed for the evening "Any Questions?" session reported below.

#### LONDON CAMPAIGN

# "ANY QUESTIONS?" A GREAT SUCCESS

By Olwen Battersby

"THERE can be peace": this was the firm conviction underlying every answer given to a crowded audience at Westminster Friends Meeting House, last Saturday week, following the Trafalgar Square demonstration.

Stuart Morris said that two factors were already changing the international situation: the Arab-Asian bloc in the United Nations

which meant that for the first time America could not rely on bloc voting, and the

neutralism of Premier Nehru who by refusing to be tied to either power bloc was becoming known as a mediator in the cold

We have got to increase these neutral

areas" he continued, drawing attention to the

Movement for a Third Camp, the British co-

ordinating committee of which had recently been formed in London. "But neutralism is not

enough; it is not sufficient just to keep out of the power struggle."

land, Scandinavia, France and Germany which rejected both Communism and private enterprise, he continued. If by positive and constructive effort we could weld these forces

together, build up a society in which there was true democracy, moral freedom and justice for all, we should be giving to the world the new

The final answer was given by Clifford Macquire:

"It has now been announced that the

American air force has removed its atom bombers from Japan. Recently there was a

pacifist conference in Japan, after which a

fairly substantial team travelled up and down Japan. If this can happen in Japan,

given the same public opinion it can happen

Questioned on how to influence the Churches, the Brains said "first join the Church, then join the FoR, then having joined the FoR be active within it."

If the Church were officially to condemn war, said Clifford Macquire, the Queen would have to do so as well. She would be unable

to sign the decrees sanctioning war and war

In reply to other questions the Brains con-

sidered that we had no right to ask Germany to

disarm unless we honoured the promise given to her at the end of World War I and followed

denied the vote, had a far more powerful instrument in their right to conscientious objection, which if exercised widely could

shake the Government's foreign policy; that it was both right and courageous to break an

evil law, and to take the consequences, if by breaking it one could symbolise the heart of

vision for which it waited.

in Great Britain."

preparations.

There were strong forces in England, Switzer

The brains were: Emrys Hughes, MP; the Rev. Clifford Macquire, Gen. Sec. of the FoR; and neutrality is infinitely safer than our Martin Dakin, BBC "Brain of Britain"; Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU; and Hugh Brock, Assistant Editor of Peace News.

The Questionmaster was Sybil Morrison.

Asked whet would lead to neutrality, and neutrality is infinitely safer than our present policy."

Enlarging on the question of neutrality Stuart Morris said that two factors were already whether the Asked whether t

Asked what would happen if a pacifist Britain were invaded from without, Stuart Morris had no hesitation: "It is a hypothetical question" he replied, "the position, I think, is unlikely to occur."

A pacifist Britain implied that the Prime Minister and a majority in the Government

Minister and a majority in the Government were pacifist; that negotiation on equal terms had been tried; that there was no provocation; that an opposing country knew it had nothing to fear. Violence in these circumstances would to fear. Violence in these circumstances would be met by a united non-violent resistance. It would, he thought, be of short duration.

#### Changing situation

Hugh Brock and Martin Dakin drew the attention of the audience to the successes achieved by non-violent resistance in Norway, Denmark and France in World War II.

"How can we avoid being involved in war between Russia and America?" asked another

Emrys Hughes, MP replied: "Let us make it perfectly plain to Russia, and to the world, that we will not be used by any nation as the springboard in a Crusade against Communism. or a war against Russia. Let us insist that the American air force be withdrawn, and that our own air force be reduced, so that we are no

#### ENGLAND EXPECTS . .



ND from the foot of the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square on September 4 was proclaimed the best way in which Britain can do its duty to the world by taking the lead in renouncing the H-bomb and the method of war.

Although the weather cleared up in time for the demonstradoubtedly made both the march

and the crowd in the Square smaller than it would have been, and the collection suffered a result. But although the cost was not small, the whole demonstration was very well worth while. The Pipe Band, which was great asset, the amplifiers, posters 20,000 leaflets brought the expenses to about £75, towards which £35 was collected. I am sure that you

would have helped to increase the collection.

But it is not too late. The Peace Pledge
Union's share of the deficit will be found from
PPU funds, of which the PPU Headquarters Fund provides an important share. So will you please send me immediately the £1, or 10s. or 2s. 6d. which you would have put in the collection if you had been in the Square or at the "Any Questions " session.

Thanks to 50 dollars from America, an anonymous £10 and other generous help, our total has risen to £466, but we have not yet reached

half-way to our £1,000 We are a little in advance of the corresponding period last year and as we finally achieved our aim then, I am encouraged to hope that we will do so again. But it will mean a big and continuous effort which requires your help. One friend writes "I hope you don't mind receiving a book of stamps." Of course, we welcome stamps, postal orders, treasury notes, cheques, or even jewellery, etc., to sell for the PPU Fund.

I am sure that you will agree that the PPU has a right to expect that every member will do his duty and help forward the cause of pacifism. And Nelson did signal "This day."

STUART MORRIS General Secretary

£466 Total received to date: £1,000 Our aim for 1954:

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

#### Dr. Rhee's Government advises

THE Republic of Korea has a legation in London from which is sent out periodically a "Korean Survey." An Editorial article in a recent issue is of rather particular interest. Although "Korean Survey" comes from the Korean Legation it is written as if it purports to be an expression of United States opinion rather than of the opinion of the Korean Government Korean Government.

For instance, it remarks that in the 1914 and 1939 war "we came in when our intervention was necessary to avoid England's defeat.

Nevertheless the article is presumably not written by an American but is rather an expression of what Korean Governmental circles feel American opinion should be; or conceivably it is what one of Senator Know-land's friends, provided by the Korean Legation with an opportunity to express himself, feels that American opinion should be. In view of President Rhee's repeated incendiary pronouncements the views here expressed should have particular interest in Britain.

#### Towards neutralism

The article opens with the claim that in the "agonising reappraisal" of American foreign policy that has now become necessary "our policy can no longer be directed toward preserving peace, but must hard-headedly be focussed upon winning the war that is now already upon us. So long as the Communist Empire can continue its steady and inexorable advance without subjecting its own heartland to any military dangers, the Kremlin strategists obviously will continue their cold war tactics."

Therefore, "our policy can no longer be dominated by the aim of maintaining our Western World alliance, if by so doing we allow ourselves to be led nearer catastrophe." In order to preserve Anglo-American solidarity "we let England dictate a policy of refusing to win the Korean war." The consequence has been that England's demands for the conciliation of the Kremlin are sharply increasing.

"England is forced towards neutralism because her location and compactness render her helpless against the hydrogen bomb. For this reason her aid as a fighting ally is greatly minimised . . . England may not be able to participate in another war without being utterly destroyed . . . She will in all likelihood remain apart from war if she has the choice to do so. It is this knowledge, not senility, that accounts for the phenomenal change in the Churchillian spirit."

#### Positive leadership

Because of this Britain has become more determined to dominate the cold war. This must not be permitted. "What remains for us is to shake ourselves out of our historic habit of subordinating our own policies to those of England." There should however be no break with England. What must be done is to "provide a positive leadership that England must follow."

"Rather than devoting our main endeavours to trying to prevent the war (which is already far advanced) we should be concentrating every resource to win it."

This positive leadership which England must follow "will benefit England herself!"

## Two views on the future of Britain

September 17, 1954, PEACE NEWS-3

THE City Editor of the News Chronicle last week deployed the view of Britain's economic future taken by Professor Austin Robinson, of Cambridge, in an address given to the economic section of the British Association meeting in Oxford.

The argument of the Professor, reduced to its simplest terms, says the Chronicle, runs like

Our symbol of prosperity and power rests on the fact that Britain, owing to a number of impermanent factors, became a great industrial and mercantile power. Our imports represent about a quarter of our national income and because we import a large proportion of our food we have been able to reduce to five per cent. the proportion of our working population in agriculture, the lowest ratio in the world.

Since the output of an agricultural worker in Britain is on the average worth less than two-thirds the output of an industrial worker, this has helped the general prosperity of the country; but this structure of our economy is being undermined because more and more of the countries which in the past were primary producers, are now industrialising themselves and will no longer be a market for our manufactured goods.

The day will come when we will no longer be able to pay for our imports of food; we shall therefore have to use more of our population to produce our own food; this means a reduced standard of living.

#### Atomic power stations too

The Chronicle believes that the Professor takes too gloomy a view of the future. It compares his predictions with those of Malthus who had argued that population growth would outstrip the means of feeding humanity. The Chronicle believes that Malthus has been con-

The newspaper goes on to give its view:

"No one will contradict the fact that more and more countries will industrialise them-selves. That process has already called for all kinds of adjustments. For example, we have lost our export trade in cotton goods. But we sell the textile machinery to other countries. In the decades ahead we shall help to industrialise other countries whose people will develop newer and more costly tastes.

"The natives of West Africa will switch from bicycles to motor-cycles and then to motor-cars. They will want radio and TV sets, locomotives and in time atomic power stations. Provided we remain efficient and that British industry invests enough to keep itself abreast of its competitors, there seems little fear that we shall consciously have to take the road back to the relative poverty of an essentially agricultural nation.

" More capital investment and the maximum of adjustability in British industry are the conditions of successfully meeting this challenge of the future. The two are more likely to be provided in a free economy than in the planned system which Professer Robinson appears to think inevitable."

#### Sense of proportion

THE General Council of the Trades Union Congress is to raise funds for two projects by a on trade union members.

The two projects are: a new memorial building in London, and 2, increased aid for struggling colonial unions. trade

The total levy will be ne shilling.

The breakdown: memorial building 10d.; for the colonies-

The new building is estimated to cost nearly £1,000,000.

#### DISARMAMENT TABLEAU



# Registration of COs in Britain.

Registrations of conscientious objectors during the year 1953 were as follows:

	D	TE OF R	EGISTRATI	ION			NUMBER OF COS	TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERING	PERCENTAGE
March 7						***	225	79,309	0.28
June 13		• • • •	• 11 •	101			175	71,603	0.24
September December	5. ,	***		***	****	***	160 198	69,488 73,696	0.23 0.27
December				***	0.77	***	196	73,090	0.27
FCI							758	294,096	0.26

The above figures are provisional until the issue of the official annual report of the Ministry of Labour,

were 787 applications to the seven local triol	unais.	Decis	IOIR W	16.		No.	Percentage
Unconditional registration					***	24	3.0
Registered for civil work						278	34.3
Registered for non-combatant duties					***	181	23.0
Dismissed				0	***	312	39.7
and the same of the same of						-	
						787	100.0

The Minister referred fourteen cases back to the local tribunals because of failure to comply with the condition of registration. Three appellants were registered unconditionally, and in the other eleven cases the condition of registration was varied.

Appellate Tribunals

The appellate tribunals sitting in three divisions, heard 306 appeals, and in 142 cases (46.3 per cent.) the decision of the local tribunal was varied in favour of the appellant. Dismissals by the local tribunals were upheld on appeal in 136 cases, 25 other appeals were dismissed, and 3 appellants were "down-graded."

—CBCO.

AN estimated 350,000 people who watched Southend (Essex) Carnival procession recently saw the tableau entered by the Southend and District Peace Council.

The Council had decorated a lorry depicting

a World Disarmament Conference; an Indian and a Siamese student represented the Eastern nations with Peace Council members represent-ing the white races. The whole was dominated by an H-bomb "mushroom." In the rear was a waste-paper basket filled with various card-board "armaments."

The tableau was greeted with many bursts of

applause along the four-mile route.

"This excellent publicity effort was well worth-while, and it is hoped to enter again next year," the Council's treasurer, Mr. R. H. Cross, told Peace News afterwards.

#### PYAG activities

Tony Blackmore, organising secretary of the Pacifist Youth Action Group, flew to Poland on Saturday as part of a youth delegation. Members of Young Friends have also gone. Two members of PYAG, Ian Dixon and Tony Blackmore were among the speakers at "reduce conscription" rally at Brighton recently. Many of the audience were not in agreement with the Communist Party element in the demonstration who favour reduction of in the demonstration who favour reduction of the call-up: they wanted it abolished.

"Aid to Displaced Persons"—is the name of this warm-hearted organisation which brings comfort to

# THE HUMAN RESIDUE OF WAR

By Sylvia Stevenson

HOW many of us realise that a quarter of a million stateless persons, including 20,000 old folk, 80,000 TB cases and countless children, are still living in Europe under terrible conditions from which many can see no hope of relief except by death?

This is one of the less publicised end-products of a world war. These people feel themselves forgotten by a world which has marched over their heads, changing frontiers and regimes. Known as the "Hard Core" (who cannot be repatriated or "absorbed"), they consist chiefly of Poles, Yugoslavs, Rus-sians, Czechs and Ukrainians; the ex-enemy countries which unwill-(who cannot be repatriated ingly house them as a part of war damage reparation are Austria, Germany and Italy. Since the closing down of IRO (Inter-national Refugee Organisation) they have depended on allied charities whose representatives are now scarce.

In Austria, over 33,000 live in camps consisting of hutments and old barracks, often isolated, so that chances of finding even occasional work are practically nil.

Often their health is shattered; the meagre

Public Assistance allowance all goes in food. Trieste has 4,000 of them herded in four camps, while 1,700 lodge in such places as disused factories and Nissen huts, each hut being packed with DPs living all together without partitions, including the sick and aged.

#### A practical solution

Only in Germany, with its 175,000 DPs, has a practical solution been found. Here small settlements, like our workers' housing estates, are being built here and there and refugees fit for work established in them, rent being charged. But these also are too crowded, and often too far from work centres.

In any case they leave the aged, the consumptives (for whom few hospitals or sanatoria exist) and the other "rejects" where they have been all along-marooned in the various camps and barracks. In Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, misunderstandings arise between the German authorities and the United



A D.P. camp in Germany.

The situation is made more difficult by the resentful attitude of the Poles and lack of cooperation from the native population, both of which are understandable. Many DPs, lacking work, live in private lodgings in extreme poverty. Thousands more have burrows in cellars or in the old Bunkers (air raid shelters), where the only light is artificial and the sole ventilator an electric pump.

Recently one of these pumps was out of order. When an official's attention was drawn to the unbearable stench, he replied, "But they are not really normal human beings!" Would you or I be "normal" under such conditions, after such a history and with no apparent hope of serang? of escape?

No wonder that in general the morale is low that the will to work is often atrophied and "DP neurosis" reigns. Re-education is urgently needed, with schools for the children and facilities for the study of German.

But the first essential is for the recreation

There is now only one organisation devoted entirely to the needs of these too often forgot-ten victims. It is called "Aid to Displaced " and is disinterested, independent, undenominational—existing to help all DPs, whatever their country of origin, but more especially the aged and infirm.

#### International headquarters

Its international Headquarters are in Belgium, where three small homes provide a glimpse of paradise for 120 old folk. Only lack of finance prevents the rapid increase of this work of mercy, and also of the admirable "Sponsorship" scheme, by which 5,000 DP families have already been put in touch with 5,000 more fortunate familes in various coun-

It is to the British headquarters, which is entirely self-supporting, that those interested in this scheme should write. They will be given the address of a DP who then becomes the of the sponsor. godchild

Not much expenditure of money or time is required, the important thing being to write regularly, take a personal interest, and send useful parcels from time to time.

By this means, the organisers say, miracles of love have been achieved despite the handicaps of distance, difference of culture, language legal position of conscientious objectors in



Importation (early and

Typical interior of a barracks.

or religion. The "godparents" should try to understand the feeling of lonely abandonment which inevitably causes bitterness, and by simple affection to remove it.

Those who are able to write in German may communicate direct, otherwise translators exist (though more are badly needed, especially any with a knowledge of the Slav languages and of German).

Pacifists could scarcely be better occupied than in helping to restore the self respect and usefulness, which means happiness, of these outcasts of the struggle between warring ideologies. Let us prove that even if others have forgotten them, we have not!

All enquiries will be welcomed and promptly answered if sent to the following adress:—
"Aid to Displaced Persons," Mrs. J. B. Duff, Hillwood Cottage, College Rd., Woking, Surrey. Telephone Woking 2144.

## Thoughts in the condemned cell

Yield to the Night, by Joan Henry. Gollancz,

Yield to the Night" is by Joan Henry who served, and wrote a book about, a sentence of imprisonment. In this novel her experience of the atmosphere of a prison has been combined with a remarkable effort of imagination to portray, with considerable, though not complete, conviction, the thoughts and feelings of a woman awaiting execution.

The whole scene is within the confines of the condemned cell and its exercise yard and the characters those in the woman's own sordid and limited life, and the officers who live with her in the cell. They have their troubles and emotions too, and this novel reveals, if at times only by a hint, a slow growth of understanding between the guards and the guarded.

I have not been able to persuade myself whether the story is overweighted with sentiment and melodrama or whether it is I who am lacking in sentiment and a sense of pro-portion. Read the book and decide for yourself. You will in any case not be unmoved.

FRANK DAWTRY.

## Peace Collection in America

THE Swarthmore College Peace Collection in Pennsylvania, USA, has one of the most extensive body of papers relating to peace in

It is based on a large set of Jane Addams' peace records and personal papers, and now material created by pacifists and groups workhouses a unique accumulation of peace ing for international understanding in many

Included are correspondence, diaries, min-utes, reports and printed matter, some of it going back to the early eighteen-hundreds.

Continual experience in handling such material makes its staff familiar with the information to be found in papers no longer needed in the desk of a busy pacifist or crowded peace committee office. Readers of Peace News may wish advice on the handling or disposal of their records ready for retire-ment. Correspondence is invited with the Curator, Swarthmore Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, USA.

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIA** A PACIFIST

AN old Woodbrooker and a translator of Latin Countries; on recent Declarations, Bills, G. Fox's "Journal," the author of a appeals and proposals to UN; especially the scholarly monograph on Faustus Socinias, the one presented by Italian pacifists, and spongreat Unitarian pacifist of the XVIth Century, already in August 1914 Giovanni Pioli had discussed with Gandhi the position of pacifists in ambulance units in wartime. Since then he has stood in his country for war resistance and conscientious objection—deprived by Fascism conscientious objection—deprived by Fascism for 11 years of his State teacher's chair, and then, during the second World War of his liberty. His present fine volume "For the Abolition of War" (Per l' Abolizione della Guerra. Pensiero e Azione by Giovanni Pioli. Edited by "Sirio." Trieste, 1954 (Cover price Lire 700: substantial reduction, applying to author: Via San Vincenzo, 8, Milano, Italy).), brings up to date his former volume "For the Renunciation of Violence: Tolstoi-Gandhi," The book opens with the dedication: The book opens with the dedication:

"To Peacemakers in Italy and all over the world, struggling by thought and action against all causes of war, racial, national, religious, in the hearts of men and institutions, by expressing in their own conduct human brotherhood, and abolishing war, each in bimself, by refusing to engage in it, and for military service substituting voluntary service for peace, which transforms enemies into friends, this presentation of voices, figures, works, proposals, is devoutly dedicated."

#### What we condemn

In his Preface, the author declares, "What we condemn above all in violence and war, is the inhuman spirit which prompts them and is fostered by them. In armaments we deplore, even more than the formidable weapons of destruction of the human race, the organisation of formidable men who have already destroyed humanity in themselves before making use of them. It is the supreme spiritual values of individuals we are defending from the curse of war. State, Church, Culture, Civilisation lose their 'raison d'etre' when, instead of noble individual consciences they conspire to produce skilled mass murderers, and cattle for slaughter. Educational agencies betray their mission when, instead of encouraging the refusal of military service, discourage it as abnormal behaviour, deserving to be severely punished by State... We deny 'war and all its deeds of carnage,' and all that leads to and cooperates with it, as being the negation of the 'divine in man'."

Then follows, as an introduction, the "Primer of Pacifism" by James Bristol. with its key statement: "Pacifism is nine tenths an activity for the removal of war, and one tenth the refusal to co-operate with it, or conscientious objection.'

The seven chapters of the volume are each an assemblage of selected materials on special items, from the most representative pacifist sources: on the tragic futility of modern wars; the purpose of the War Resisters; the repudia-tion of "Civil Defence"; on the abolition of military conscription; the small percentage of actual shooters, and why; the question of a service in the army in non-combatant duties; on resistance to military conscription, and the

appeals and proposals to UN; especially the one presented by Italian pacifists, and sponsored by pacifist associations, for the assignation of genuine COs in countries where they are not yet legally recognised, to national or international civil service, instead of rusting for years in prisons; on the psychopathology of colonialism and the exploitation of back-ward populations, and the full application in

all continents of the principle of autonomy.

The book closes with a symposium of prefessions, declarations of former combatants, beliefs and heroic examples; followed by the Chicago pacifist declaration on a "Third Camp," and a summary report of the New Delhi Gandhian Seminary. As a book of information and propaganda, especially for Italians, it is invaluable, and the effort of the author who has made huge personal sacrifices, deserves practical encouragement.

F. P.

## WELL, IS IT?

Is This Socialism? By G. D. H. Cole. New Statesman Pamphlet, Turnstile Press, London,

IN his Foreword Professor Cole wisely sets out what his pamphlet attempts to do, and what it does not attempt. Wisely, because the place-seekers and the timid in his Party will, as he foresees, raise their hands in horror when they read some of the unkind things the Professor has to say about their achievements

Defining Socialism, he says that by this he means "nothing less than a society without classes, and not one in which a new class-structure has replaced the old!" In the text he proves conclusively that the Labour Govern-ment was instrumental in creating a new class-

Taken in conjunction with R. H. S. Crossman's contribution to the New Fabian Essays published two years ago, and with Donald Chapman's long article about Labour prospects in the current Political Quarterly, it may stir some of the more complacent Party members to protest at such defeatist talk, although it is unlikely to do anything else. Experience seems to show that charges of Labour Managerialism fall on deaf ears, and there is always Mr. Morrison to confuse the issue, as he did in the Parliamentary debate on the Crichel Down

The fact is that to many readers of Peace News "Is This Socialism?" will be old stuff, although none the less true for that. To those who have ever encountered the smothering tactics of Transport House the bland assumption that the Labour Party can be converted into an instrument for destroying the Managerialism it has brought into being will amuse or infuriate according to the mood of the moment.

"The alternative," says Professor Cole, "is to rest content with what has been achieved, and to give up trying to establish a socialist society." It has never occured to him that the only honest, and ultimately effective thing to do is to leave the Labour Party and blast it from outside.

J. C. B.

#### TALKING OF— **BOOKS**

## By Robert Greacen

A Time to Love and a Time to Die, by Erich Maria Remarque. Hutchinson, 12s. 6d.

RICH MARIA REMARQUE made his reputation in 1929 with that international best-seller, ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT. At 18 years old, in 1916, he had been drawn into the First World War. In the dark years in Germany following defeat Herr Remarque tried his hand at a succession of jobs; at the same time he was steadily writing out of his experihe was steadily writing out of his experience the novel that was to become famous.

With the Nazis irresistibly gaining power Erich Remarque left for Switzerland and became an exile like his fellow-countrymen Leonhard Frank and Thomas Soon, having refused to return to the Reich, his books were to be burned in his own country, perhaps the worst thing that can happen to a writer. In 1940 he went to the United States and has since become an American citizen. It is hardly surprising that he has not recturned to Germany.

### A "good German"

His latest novel—he has written several since ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT tells the story of a young soldier, Ernst Graeber, during the final stages of the last War. Graeber fought in Africa and was war. Graeber fought in Africa and was later sent to Russia. He is a "good German" in the sense that he comes to doubt the blood-and-soil philosophy on which he was brought up; he cannot understand why the endless sacrifice of men and materials should go on, when it never seems to achieve anything worthwhile or permanent.

The soldiers grumble incessantly, and indeed they have a good deal to grumble about; but it is the exceptional man—the few Graebers-who thinks about the wider implications of what he is ordered to do.

Then Graeber, after serving two miserable years in Russia, goes home on leave to his home town of Werden. By that time the British and American obliteration raids are under way. Graeber finds that his parents' house has become a ruin. Hardened as he is by the horror and squalor of the front he finds it hard to believe that Germany itself is disintegrating. His doubts grow; he knows the War is lost, but that in an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred it is rank treason to say so.

#### Bond of love

He meets a young girl, Elizabeth Kruse, whom he had known slightly in childhood. After a brief romance, with air-raids for background, they get married and snatch what happiness they can. The girl's father has been sent to a concentration comp for has been sent to a concentration camp for "defeatist" talk, and she has for long lived in dread of the Gestapo knock in the middle of the night. It is this fact which cements the bond between the young lovers, for Graeber is distressed by his parents' disappearance.

Herr Remarque makes an attempt to recreate the atmosphere of life among the fighting men; and his descriptions of Allied raids have an air of authenticity. Perhaps he has done a considerable amount of research into the background of the War, now that first-hand reports are available. Not least important are the Nazi characters, although it is just possible that they are overdrawn in one or two particulars.

#### On everybody's hands

The emphasis in A TIME TO LOVE AND A TIME TO DIE is placed on individual responsibility. At one point Graeber says to his liberal old schoolmaster, who has been thrown out of his job:

I would like to know how far I am involved in the crimes of the last ten years. And I would like to know what I ought to do.

and again:

When we bomb a city that's a strategic necessity; when the others do it it's a hideous crime. Was it not just so on the Allied side also? In total war the blood is on every-

one's hands. It may be because he is a German, and therefore still feels a measure of responsibility for the country he left over 20 years that Erich Remarque has more to say of German than of British and American brutality. In any case he has written a considered and moving book that may well be read as background material at a time when German rearmament is being passionately discussed.

#### POEM FOR THE TINIES

Nero, from all historians tell, Had commonsense and tact as well, For, having set the fire, he turned And watched in safety while it burned. In luxury and ease he lay Playing his fiddle all the day, As happy when the sky grew bright, As any boy on Guy Fawkes Night. But we, for all our clever ways, Can't get such pleasure from our days. We paid a man with bulging cranium To go and fiddle with uranium; And then paid more to see if fire From hydrogen went any higher. And now we wait, without a fuss, For them to make a Rome of us.

Moral: Nero was bad. like me and you. I doubt if he was balmy too.

#### TRENDS

SPEAKING of the reasons for the Labour tour, Mr. Bevan said that polarisation of the world into two camps had presented man-kind with horrible alternatives which civilised minds should reject. The Labour delegation had gone to discover if there were any new attitudes behind the iron and bamboo curtains which might prevent this arid polarisation.

In this they had been successful; the mission had opened up doors, permanently he hoped, which had previously been slammed shut. They had met the leaders of Governments both in Moscow and Peking and were convinced that they wished for closer relations with Britain.

-THE TIMES, September 7.

THIS hardening and widening of American policy to Formosa can be explained to some extent by the current convictions in Washington that Communist China is an aggressive Power. But the vigour and passion with which this view is held cannot be explained altogether by the practical advan-

\*

To a signficant extent the Republicans are still the prisoners of their own propaganda, the main purpose of which has long since been achieved.

In attempting to predict the future course of American policy, it is important to bear in mind that the marriage between Chinese aggression and the Republican Party's exploitation of the cold war for partisan purposes is by no means necessarily indissoluble.

-THE TIMES, September 6

THE Security Council should have a hardhitting debate on the air incidents off the Chinese and Siberian coasts. An early meeting of the Council has been requested by the United States, and the Russians may welcome the opportunity to answer back.

From both sides some acid things may be said. The United States is fully justified in protesting against the attacks on its aircraft outside Chinese and Russian territorial waters. At least three American planes have been shot down in that area in the past two years.

In reply the Russians may well ask what the Americans would do if Communist military aircraft were found off the California coast, only a hundred miles from San Francisco or

-MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, September 8

#### New Publication

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#### LETTERS

#### Tha leading idea

M. H. TALBOT'S suggestion (in PN August 27) that the leading idea for the Third Camp should be Reverence for Life indeed goes to the very heart of the matter, for unless the Third Camp starts from the opposite premise to the two great materialisms, Marxist philosophy and Western technocracy, it has nothing constructive to offer. Only a policy based on non-violence will be able to save the world from extermination by violence—a fate which the Third Camp is presumably trying to avert.

Throughout the war years, while collaborating in pacifist books and articles. J. D. Beresford and I were making an intensive study of universal spiritual values in the desire to pro-vide what we believed was all-essential—a spiritual and ethical basis for the unification of mankind. The result of our researches has, to some extent been given in my two published books, THE UNITY OF BEING and THIS IS LIFE ETERNAL, but a fuller and quite explicit statements is made in my, as yet unplaced, book, THE FOURTH IDEA, or The Way of Evolution. Advocating as it does, the non-violent policies of Gandhi and Tolstoy, and, as they do, presenting the idea of individual spiritual evolution as the alternative to mass revolution. finally showing both these teachings are backed by the authority of the founders of all the world-faiths, THE FOURTH IDEA most obviously supplies the logical metaphysical basis that must be the motivating force for any effectual Third Camp. ESME WYNNE-TYSON. Third Camp.

East Beach, Selsey.

#### Ever fuller life

YOUR correspondent Peter A. Slade did well to draw our attention to the works of H. G. Wells.

In effect H. G. Wells told us nearly fifteen years ago that we could not do without the equivalent of a Third Camp movement. He called it a "unified world opposition." It was to "achieve the reorganisation of the world as one continually progressive, political, social, economic and educational community, and embark upon the realisation of the abundance and ever fuller life for man that is now attainable."

I am quoting from THE COMMON SENSE OF WAR AND PEACE by H. G. Wells.

H. G. EDE.

162 Ash Grove. Heston, Middlesex.

#### On Fellow Travelling

AM unconvinced by the Editorial of August 27. On Fellow Travelling I would say that the world of today is a ship whereon, much as individuals may object to being fellow travellers with American capitalist politicians or Communists, none can escape journeying together and with others of all other variety of ideas on board, questioning the destination.

We are all fellow travellers with the confused humanity of our time, affected by and affecting each other, nor can we escape

My objection to the Third Camp idea, is to the making of another Party of those whose aim should be to impart inspiration and and should be to impart inspiration and revelation of their vision and understanding among those who, divided by party doctrines, contend for control of this passage through time, being made unhappy and now threatened with total destruction by their violent wrestings and the slaughter occasioned by efforts at domination by force.

unconverted to achieve its purpose of conversion. Peacemakers must infiltrate all parties to be like leaven in the bread of life.

Peace is not a place to be arrived at: it is a condition in living human relations during this passage through time, induced when understanding, intuitive emotion or spiritual insight achieves trust and fearlessness: when charity (that reverent agnosticism before the complexity of the soul) compassion, fellowship, and love are cultivated and prevail, peace falls gently and the world is transformed—the destination may remain uncertain, but the pros-pect improves, the atmosphere is more calm and all are aware of a blessing.

#### WALTER E. SPRADBERY.

The Wilderness,

Buckhurst Hill, Essex.

Of course we are all fellow-travellers on the world. That however, is not the sense in which the phrase had been used when we commented—Ed.

#### Russia and the Atom

MUST apologise for again asking the hospitality of your columns, but in the cause of peace and understanding, let us get our

You write-re Eisenhower's proposal for an international agency for the peaceful development of atomic energy—that you "have so far seen no statement of the objections that the Russian Government urges.

This does not mean that there was no such statement. As a matter of fact it was made immediately after Eisenhower's United Nations address of December 8 last year. It was dated December 21, and said, among other things that the Eisenhower proposal was for the peaceful pooling of "only 'some' small part of the existing stockpiles of atomic materials and of those to be created," so that "the bulk of atomic materials will continue to be directed to the production of new atomic and directed to the production of new atomic and hydrogen bombs," as the Eisenhower proposal "in no way restricts the possibility of using the atomic weapon itself."

The statement went on to say that despite these shortcomings the USSR was ready to take part in the talks at which it would move the following resolution: "Guided by the desire to reduce international tension, the states taking part in the agreement assume the solemn and unconditional pledge not to use atomic, hydrogen or any other weapons of mass destruction."

As this Soviet proposal was flatly rejected the USSR continues to view the Eisenhower proposals as an attempt to sidetrack the whole issue of banning these devilish weapons by means of a propaganda use of a small quantity of atomic energy for peaceful purposes under international auspices.

PAT SLOAN.

British Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer St., London, E.C.1.

We refer to this letter on page two-Ed.

#### Our Main Task

THESE days there are so many interesting and useful things which pacifists can put their hands to that every issue brings a new challenge.

It also spells danger. Conscription, German with total destruction by their violent wrestngs and the slaughter occasioned by efforts at
lomination by force.

Faith must move among the ignorant and the same that so spens danger. Conscription, German
rearmament, H-bombs, colonial freedom, and
now the Third Camp—they are all important,
but unless we use them aright, they can easily
draw us away from what should be our main

task-the insistence that peace depends on the renunciation of military power by nations.

ALAN LITHERLAND. 16 Harlech Road, Blundellsands, Liverpool, 23.

#### Learn Esperanto

"IT was a pity that too much time was spent with translation" said Vredesactie, concerning the WRI conference in Paris.

About the same time, July 31 to August 7 there was an Esperanto conference at Nancy where, without translations or interpreters I was able to speak to people of Yugoslavia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, France,

Britain, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy.

How regrettable, therefore, that world pacifists should lose time because they do not know Esperanto. Zamenhof created Esperanto for peace, but peaceminded people have not yet accepted his help.

A. W. TREURNIET. Noorderhavenkade.

Rotterdam, C2, Holland.

#### From East Germany

HAVE received a request from one of the members of our international Esperantist peace-movement who is a headmaster of a peace-movement who is a headmaster of a school in Eastern Germany. He has asked me to translate and arrange the publication in Peace News of the following announcement.

"Headmaster Siegfried Schreiter, Otto Schutze-str, 5, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Germany (DDR). and many pupils wish to exchange peace-material and to correspond about the peace movement etc." peace movement etc.'

The headmaster mentioned in the announcement is not the sender of the request. The one in the announcement is a member of the Education Commission of the German Peace Council and if some successful correspondence is arranged it may lead to an extension of this type of contact. The language may be English, German or Esperanto.

R. LYNN.

15 Twisden Road, N.W.5.

#### From America

WOULD not miss Peace News. It encourages me. In fact I get five extra in order to give others the chance of reading it. If 10,000 Americans read it for a few weeks they'd change the atmosphere here. Pacifists and true democrats are pretty lonely in the US these days and such a paper as Peace News gives them new life and a needed sense of companionship. Keep up the good work.

FRED W. SHORTER.

#### Seattle, Washington. Peace Studies

FOLLOWING your announcement (September 3) of the development of winter courses at the Freundschaftsheim in Germany, may I add that the first course, for those who wish to equip themselves better as workers for peace, will begin on October 3. Wilhelm Mensching, Gunnar Sundberg and Leo Schultz will conduct lectures and seminars on The Testament and Peace, Spiritual Leaders

of Mankind, Social Studies, and other subjects.
Lessons in Russian will be given if desired. The fee for the course of ten weeks, including board lodging and tuition is £30. The language used will be English.

There is a possibility of financial help for suitable students desirous of taking this course who are prevented from doing so by lack of means. Applications should be sent to me at once at the address below.

WILLIAM R. HUGHES.

35 Doulting, Shepton Mallet, Somerset.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Ho., Euston Rd. George Gregory; demand real Civil defence "Chair. C Plume. Pacifist Civil Defence Committee

CROYDON: 2,30 pm; Ruskin Ho., Vlesley Rd. H-bomb poster parade. PPU

HALIFAX: 6.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., lare Rd. Quaker Brains Trust, Panel: lembers of the Yorkshire Friends Service formmittee, SoF.

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air ng. "No More War." Liverpool Peace Board.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion: "What are the principles of pacifism?" Social Order Commission, PPU.

#### Saturday-Sunday, September 18-19

St ALBANS: Diocesan Ho., Verulam Rd., John Ferguson, MA, BD. Week-end Youth conf. Details from Max Parker, Drayson, Church Ave., Pinner. FoR.

#### Sunday, September 19

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m. Studio, 2 Addison Ave. (nr. Holland Pk. Stn. Tom Wardle, "Peace—within and without. Religion Commission, PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

#### Monday, September 20

CROYDON: 8 pm; Civic Hall, North End H-bomb meeting. Anthony Greenwood, MP Dr. E. H. A. Burhop, George Doughty. PPU

OLDHAM: 8 p.m.; Methodist Schoolroom, Henshaw St. (bus stop, Market Pl.) Rev. Clifford Macquire, My. Visit to Russia."

#### Tuesday, September 21

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air mtg. Rev. Clifford Macquire. FoR.

RICHMOND: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon toad, East Sheen. John Barclay, "Foundations of Penns", PP11 Road, East Sheen. Joh tions of Peace." PPU.

BOW (East London): 7.45 p.m.; 10 Denbury Business mig., followed by discussion on "The Orchard Lea Papers." PPU.

STOKE ON TRENT: 7.30 p.m.; Metho-Land Handey. Centre. Gitana Street, Public mig. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "Christ and War." For.

BURY: 7.30 p.m.; Co-op Hall Authors

NOITINGHAM ( 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FoR, PPU,

#### Thursday, September 23

LONDON, W.C.1 i 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of Peace. Conducted by lifterent denominations,

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shep-pard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday, PYAG.

# Friday, September 24

BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Basil A. Fletcher, "Race Relations in Africa." SoF. Saturday, September 25

### SHEFFIELD: 3 pm; Mrs. Marson's Tea room, Apperknowle, J. Allen Skinner, Editor of Peace News, "The Third Camp," PPU. Sunday, September 26

CARSHALTON BEECHES: 3 p.m.; 17 Hill Rd. (nr. Stn.). Bernard Withers, "The Third Camp." PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7-9.30 p.m.; Pacifist Y ction speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Monday, September 27 SCARBOROUGH: 7.45 p.m.; Public Library, Vernon Rd. George Craddock, MP, Ernest Fernyhough, MP, James Avery Joyce, Dr. Donald Soper and Victor Yates, MP, "Labour for Peace." Labour Peace Fellow-ship.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq. Weekl lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

#### Friday, October 1

HULL: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Bond St. AGM Reports and election of officers. PPU.

#### Saturday, October 2

BRISTOL: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. I Broadweir. Hugh Brock, PPU Natic Chairman, Sale of produce by auct 5 p.m.; tea. Western Area Annual Rally. LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Shep-ard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Ruth Ashton,

ard Ho., 6 Endsle Personal Pacifism." Endsleigh St. Ruth Ashton fism." Religion Commission PPU. SOUTHAMPTON: 3.15 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Area matters. 6 p.m.; Harold Bing, "The Third Way." Southern

UXBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., clmont Rd. Brains Trust. CO Fellowship.

#### Saturday-Sunday, October 9-10

BRIDLINGTON: Weekend school, Alexandra Hotel. F. Rona, MSc, "The Economic Consequences of Disarmament." Details: A. Leaper, 22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

HERNE BAY: Weekend conf., Herne Bay Court. John Ferguson, MA, BD, "Christians and World Affairs." FoR.

### **ADVERTISEMENTS**

As this is a free service, we eave the right to select notices for bilication. We nevertheless desire make it as complete a service as e reasonably can, and therefore ge organisers of events to:

Friday, September 17

BOW (East London): 7.45 p.m.; 10 Denbury to, Devons Rd., adjoining Bromley Sin, Devons Rd., adjoining Bromley Sin, Business mix., followed by discussion on "The Justiness mix., follow

All welcome.

MANCHESTER PEACE COMMITTEE.
Hear guest speaker, Albert Wrightson, on "A
Quaker View of World Affairs," at Counding
Meeting, Onward Hall, Tuesday, September
21, at 7.30 p.m. Visitors welcome. Admission

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Dake St. nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6,30 p.m. Th. Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Coltman Gospel of Peace. Nev.

MA, B.Llit.
LONDON NATURAL HEALTH SOCIETY
— grand opening meeting. Caston Hall, S.W.I.
Nlonday, September 20, 7.30 p.m., James C.
Thomson, of Kingston Clinic, Edinburgh, on
"Natural Healing—the Case for Self Effort."

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REGINALD BAILEY, Naturopath and psychiatrist. 134 Hoppers Rd., N.21. Palmers Green 9868. By. appt.
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#### LITERATURE

"THE ADELPHI"—1933 to 1948. Complete set, covering the socialist/pacifist period of this well-known literary magazine for sale. Full proceeds to Peace News' Fund. What offers? The Treasurer, PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

"LITTLE LAMB, WHO EATS THEE?" a challenging comment on human and animal telations in the Summer number of Farmer (including The Gardener and inco porating Wholefood). Also Stomachs Spare; Even Pigs Don't Eat Rhubarb; Ayou a Food Crank? 2s. 6d. a copy, 10s. year, post free. Edited by Newman Turi from Ferne Farm (P), Shaftesbury, Dorset.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Buston Rd., London.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED FIRST-CLASS duplicating/typing. Mabel Byles Secretarial Service, 395 Hornsey Rd., N.19. ARC 1765, Ext. 1.

#### SITUATIONS VACANT

IF YOU WANT TO HELP PEACE you can't do better than give a hand at Peace News. Volunteers welcome for daytime work and every Wednesday evening. Write, call or phone STA 2262. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Tube Finsbury Pk.

#### FOR SALE

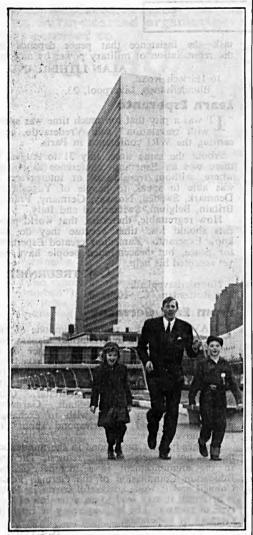
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#### HOLIDAYS

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TORQUAY: DELIGHTFUL for autumn holidays, comfortable vegetarian guest house with excellent food, highly recommended. Book early for Christmas. Mr. and Mrs. E. S. White, Nutcombe, Rowdens Rd.



Two seven-year-olds, Eileen McGrann and Richard Gibbs, were playing in the international playground at the north end of UN headquarters in New York, when who should come along . . . Yes. It's four-minute-miler Roger Bannister. And, what luck, they were asked to pose for this picture.

#### The other kind of **Americans**

From BARBARA BOWDEN

ON August 7, nineteen young people from six countries gathered at Newport, Essex, for one of the Junior camps run by the Friends' Work Camps Committee.

The project was aiding the building of a

village hall, which we found with the walls up and the roof-trusses and purlins on. We left it with the roof complete except for eight asbestos sheets, the floor cleared, levelled and concreted, the pine-end of the one wall built, the walls pointed and "Snowcemed" and the window-frames cleaned and painted.

The camp provided great opportunities for international fellowship, for we spreading of international fellowship, for we had with us three Americans, two Turks, one Swede, one German, and a French boy. Although we had no organised discussions, informal ones ranged from pacifism, through EDC to belief in the Trinity! Such discussions were encouraged both by the twenty minutes visit of the Young Russians, and by the arrival of Reg. Reynolds, whose article in Peace News introduced me to Work Camps.

The most important factor for me, personally, was the presence of the Americans, whose disgust and indignation at the wilder sayings and doings of Mark Clark, Senator McCarthy, William Bullitt and the US Senate showed us that American viewpoint which one so seldom has an opportunity to meet in England.

#### S.E.A.T.O. From page one

That is fundamentally untrue, and the governments who are really concerned not only with their own security but with providing for all men the full and free life to which they have a birthright, would be better employed in reaching agreement on world disarmament and in employing their resources in the War on Want than on relying on a new threat of collective violence to solve the

#### LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE Dr. Soper to speak at peace rally

Dr. Soper will be the principal speaker at "Labour for Peace" meeting to be held in Scarborough during the Labour Party Con-

Organised by the Labour Peace Fellowship. the meeting will be held in the Central Library, Vernon Road, at 7.45 p.m. on Monday, September 27

Three MPs who will also speak are George Craddock, Ernest Fernyhough and Victor Yates. James Avery Joyce, prospective Labour candidate for Norwood will be in the chair.

A Labour Peace Fellowship bookstall will sell Peace News and other literature in the Conference Hall during the week. Hugh Brock and Olwen Battersby, of Peace News, will be staffing it.

Out in time for the conference will be the first issue of the "Labour Peace Leader," new LPF journal. It will appear six times a year at 2d. a copy or 1s. 9d. a year from 24a Break-spears Road, London, S.E.4.

SYBIL MORRISON is on holiday

## China and the United Nations

AN interesting implication in the discussions on whether or not China should be admitted to the United Nations, is the tacit admission that China is not a member of the United Nations; a confession that Chiang Kai-shek's nominees at the United Nations do not represent China.

No question exists at to the "admission" of China to the United Nations. China is a foundation member of the United Nations. Article 3 of the United Nations Charter provides that all nations which participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organisation held in San Fransisco in 1945, and which ratified the United Nations Charter, are original members of the United Nations.

China is one of these nations.

Article 23 of the Charter names China as one of the permanent members of the Security Council. Therefore, there cannot be any question of the "admission" of China to the United Nations.

#### The Question

The question to be decided is whether the Government in Peking is to be recognised by the United Nations as the Government of China with the right to send delegates to the United Nations and its organs and agencies.

At the present time the Chiang Government in Formosa is recognised by United Nations as the Government of China, and Chiang's delegates sit on the United Nations Organs and Agencies.

These are the circumstances out of which the dispute concerning the representation of China at the United Nations arose:

For many years there had been Civil War in China between the Kuomintang forces led by Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist forces led by Mao Tse-tung. The fighting was inter-spersed with intermittent truces and periods of co-operation during which both armies fought the Japanese invaders.

In 1945, at the time the San Francisco Conference was held, there was a period of co-operation between Chiang and Mao. The Delegation to San-Francisco from China consisted of representatives of both the Kuomintang and Communist Parties. Of the two voting Delegates one was a nominee of Chiang and one a nominee of Mao.

After the San Francisco Conference, civil war broke out again. In 1949 Mao's forces defeated Chiang's. Chiang fled to Formosa. He hoped then, and he continues to hope, that he will obtain sufficient armed support to regain control of China. Mao set up a Government

#### Diplomatic relations

Early in 1950 Great Britain withdrew her support from Chiang and recognised the Mao Government. She informed Mao that she was ready to establish diplomatic relations "on a basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty" and to exchange Ambassadors. A number of other countries have also recognised the Mao Government.

The United States has refused to recognise the Mao Government because it is Communist-led. It still recognises Chiang's Government in Formosa as the Government of China. This is the situation at the present time.

Mr. Dulles and other United States politicians have theatened on various occasions that the United States will use its veto to prevent (a) the admission of China to the United Nations, and/or (b) the recognition of the Peking Government as the Government of China.

Since China is already a member of the United Nations, the questions of "the admission of China" and the use of the veto do

In respect of the United Nations according recognition to the Government of a country, there is no provision in the Charter for the veto to be used for such a purpose

Article 2, Clause 7, of the Charter stipulates that the United Nations shall not intervene in the internal affairs of member nations. However much any nation may object to the leading personalities or the political trends of the Government of another member nation, it has no authority to interfere with the right of that Government to send representatives to the

#### Rightful place

Once the Government of a country is recognised by the United Nations there can be no question regarding the recognition of the Delegates approved by the Government of such a country to all the Organs and Agencies of the United Nations.

The only Delegates who are eligible to be

members of these bodies are those nominated by the Governments of member nations. As soon as Mao's Government is recognised by the United Nations as the Government of China, the Delegates nominated by this Government will automatically take their places

as the representatives of China on all the Organs and Agencies of the United Nations. The recognition of the Mao Government will restore to China her rightful place at the United Nations.

Had China not been deprived of this place, the Korean War, with its incalculable suffering and destruction might never have taken place. China is a country of nearly 602,000,000 people. No valid decisions in the Far East can be made or implemented without the consent

and co-operation of China. It is important to all who wish for the restoration and maintenance of peace that China's Government should be at the United Nations.

JESSIE M. STREET.

# FORMOSA Background to a trouble spot

THE shooting war in Korea has been in abeyance for quite a few months, that in Indo-China has ceased for some weeks, but there is still shooting in the Straits of Formosa and loud threatenings of more slaughter from both its shores.

A very brief outline of the history of Formosa in relation to the mainland may serve to promote a better understanding of the issues involved and the reasons why this has become the immediate World danger spot.

Formosa's close connection with China dates at least as far back as the Third Century AD, and it came under the control of the Chinese Empire for a period in the Sixth Century. From then on (like Tongking and parts of Korca) the degree of effective control of the island exercised by the Imperial power varied with the phases of vigour or decadence of successive dynasties, and much of the history remains obscure. In the middle of the Seventeenth Century, however, there was a lurid glow over the region owing to the support given by the Cheng family (from whom a recent Ambassador to this country claims descent) to the vanishing fortunes of the Ming Dynasty, whose Mandate of Government from Heaven was being very effectively removed by the Manchus. But even the naval forces (not without foreign connections, and in Imperial documents designated "pirates") that came to the assistance of the Ming remnants on the island could not save them from eventual extinction by the new Government on the mainland, and the island was definitely incorporated in the domains of the last Imperial Dynasty.

#### Incorporated by Japan

It did not remain so, however. During the reigns of the last few decadent emperors of the Dynasty the Empire found itself up against the encroachments of Western imperialisms. In the course of the operations which detached Annam from China a French fleet attacked Formosa, but was driven off. The island, in spite of this, was not retained by China much longer. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki ending the war with Japan, about a decade later, not only was Korea removed from China's suzerainty, but Formosa was incorporated in the Japanese Empire.

At the end of the final Pacific phase of World War II it was to be expected that those who had fought against Japan would agree to the restoration of Formosa to China. Consequently after VJ Day no questions were raised in international circles when the emissaries of Chiang Kai-shek in the name of the then generally recognised government of China took over the rule of Formosa. Unfortunately the corruption, self-seeking, and inefficiency of these new authorities created some-thing of a new record even in Kuoming-tang circles. The industrial assets built up

# We need you . . . in the West End next Friday

NEXT Friday the Editor of Peace News, J. Allen Skinner, will be at Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martins Lane, W.C.2, for a meeting to plan increased selling of Peace News in the London Area.

Refreshments will be available from 7.30 p.m. onwards. Entrance at side door in Hop Gardens.

It is hoped to build up a team of Peace News street sellers who will man pitches at busy points in the West End from 5.30 to

about 7 p.m. regularly each week.
You can come to the meeting with some practical experience if you join with mem-bers of Peace News staff in street selling on September 24, from 5.30-7.30 p.m. in the

Send your name and address to 3 Black-stock Rd., N.4, or meet Hugh Brock on the steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields between 5.30 and 7.30 p.m.

Readers and peace groups in other parts of the country are asked to make their own arrangements for organised street selling.

A dozen copies of Peace News with a poster for street selling may be had for 3s. from 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Unsold copies

may be returned.

#### NEW CHINA VICTIMS

THE Chulicu (Main Current), published in Hong Kong reports that in June, out of 69 people arrested in Hunan, South China for anti-Communist activity, 20 were executed. These were not "landlords, reactionaries, spies, saboteurs and the like," but members of the Chinese New Socialist Revolutionary Party.

#### Population growth

IT was stated at the World Conference on Population at Rome last week that the rate world population growth is now almost 85,000 per day. The total population is estimated to reach nearly 4,000 million by

#### HEALTHY EATING—WITHOUT SLAUGHTER

63 Meatless Meals, 2/3. Food Values Chart, 2/3. Bridget Fruit & Vegetable Juices, 3/3. ACADEMY PRESS (Dept. P.N.)

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#### RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.I

by Japan just melted away. The oppression of the inhabitants finally provoked them in February 1947 to open rebellion.

#### Rising put down

An UNRRA colleague of mine who had been on the spot at the time gave me a harrowing description of what he had himself seen of the savagery with which the rising was put down. The Governor of Formosa met the usual fate of Chiang's subordinates who became involved in too notorious a scandal. He was executed by the Generalissimo's orders. This, however, was of little advantage to the unfortunate inhabitants of the island. We may surmise their feelings when Chiang, driven out of the mainland, withdrew to Formosa with those members of his Government whose record for oppression and corruption made it impossible for them to make terms with the Government at Peking.

However, most people then assumed that the Nationalist rump would not be able to hold out very long in Formosa. Indeed it seemed clear that without outside help to Chiang, it was just a matter of time before Formosa would come under the new People's Government. As far as the United States were concerned, it was authoritatively stated that Formosa was not part of the American defence system and on January 6, 1950, President Truman announced specifically:

"The United States will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China. Similarly, the United States will not provide military aid and advice to the Chinese forces in

#### A transparent screen

Yet on June 25 Truman announced that he had issued orders to the American Seventh Fleet to prevent an attack on Formosa. From that point on the Chiang regime in Formosa has become steadily more and more obviously a transparent screen behind which the United States has been attacking China. Thus it should be obvious why nearly all Chinese and, it seems safe to assume, most Asians feel deep resentment at what naturally appears to them a recrudescence of Euro-American attempts to dominate Asia.

Meanwhile those elements in United States for launching what they maintain would be a "preventive" nuclear war have clearly not been over discouraged by their failures in Korea and Indo-China. That they are entirely chlinicus to all considerations at humanity is oblivious to all considerations of humanity is shown by the recent broadcast news of the dropping of napalm over the densely populated city of Amoy.

The influence of the opinion of ordinary people in this country on such actions is no doubt very limited, and yet it is, perhaps, not entirely negligible. Never was there a greater need of vigilant and informed opinion concerning events on the other side of the world.

L. TOMKINSON

(See also Behind the News-page two)

#### THE BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL FORUM Debate on Civil Defence and the Hydrogen Bomb

Speakers: County Alderman W. R. M. Chambers, O.B.E., J.P. Middlesex County Council; Alcerman Sidney Stringer, Coventry City Council.

Wednesday, September 22nd, 7.45 p.m. Visitors 3s. 6d.

CORA HOTEL, UPPER WOBURN PLACE, WCI

#### PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service 3.30 p.m. Sunday Sept 19 Studio, 29 Addison Ave., London W.II (Near Holland Park Stn.) Discourse by Tom Wardle "Peace-within and without" 

#### No Socialist is complete without

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